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PAGE 01 STATE 122858 100046Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 122858

FOR AF A/S MOOSE, DELIVER OOB, FROM AF DAS BUSHNELL

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PHUM, PGOV, RW

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND BRIEFER ON RWANDA CRISIS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 122858 100046Z

2. FOLLOWING IS OUR REVISED BRIEFER ON RWANDA, TO BE USED AS BACKGROUND FOR YOUR ORAL BRIEFING OF THE VICE PRESIDENT PRIOR TO THE PLANNED MEETING WITH UN SYG BOUTROS-GHALI, OAU SYG SALIM SALIM, AND PRES. MWINYI. (THIS UPDATES THE BACKGROUND PIECE THAT IS IN YOUR BRIEFING BOOK, AND HAS BEEN CLEARED WITH APPROPRIATE OFFICES IN THE DEPARTMENT.) NSC-PREPARED TALKING POINTS ARE BEING SENT FYI VIA SEPTEL O-I, IN CASE YOU DO NOT HAVE A HARD-COPY WITH YOU.

BEGIN TEXT OF BACKGROUND PAPER

BACKGROUND ON RWANDA CRISIS

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VIOLENCE ON TWO LEVELS

ON APRIL 6, RWANDAN PRESIDENT JUVENTAL HABYARIMANA'S PLANE CRASHED OUTSIDE KIGALI UNDER SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES,

KILLING PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND PRESIDENT CYPRIEN NTARYAMIRA OF BURUNDI. THE PLANE WAS PROBABLY SHOT DOWN, BUT THE ATTACKING PARTY IS NOT KNOWN. THIS EVENT SPARKED MASSIVE VIOLENCE ON TWO LEVELS:

FIRST, ELEMENTS OF THE HUTU-DOMINATED RWANDAN MILITARY, HARDLINE HUTU MILITIAS FROM HABYARIMANA'S MRND PARTY AND THE RIGHT-WING CDR PARTY, AND HUTU EXTREMIST GANGS BEGAN KILLING HUTU OPPOSITION POLITICIANS (INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER AGATHE UWILINGIYIMANA) AND TUTSI OPPOSITION LEADERS AND CIVILIANS. THE KILLINGS BEGAN IN KIGALI, BUT EVENTUALLY SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 122858 100046Z

SECOND, FIGHTING QUICKLY BROKE OUT BETWEEN RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES AND THE TUTSI-DOMINATED REBEL RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF), EFFECTIVELY RESUMING THE CIVIL WAR THAT BEGAN IN OCTOBER 1990 AND WAS TO HAVE ENDED ON AUGUST 4, 1993, WITH THE SIGNING OF THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD. THE RPF HAS ADVANCED STEADILY AND NOW CONTROLS MUCH OF KIGALI AND MUCH OF THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN PORTIONS OF THE COUNTRY. THE NEWLY CREATED INTERIM GOVERNMENT, MADE UP PRIMARILY OF HUTU HARDLINERS, HAS FLED TO GITARAMA, SOUTHWEST OF KIGALI.

STATUS OF CEASE-FIRE TALKS

WITH U.S. ENCOURAGEMENT, THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH SERVED AS HOST AND FACILITATOR OF THE ARUSHA PEACE TALKS, HAS ATTEMPTED TO BRING THE PARTIES BACK TOGETHER TO NEGOTIATE A CEASE-FIRE AND RELAUNCH THE PEACE PROCESS. ON MAY 3, THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF SENT DELEGATIONS TO ATTEND TALKS IN ARUSHA, BUT THE TALKS BROKE DOWN TWO DAYS LATER WHEN THE RPF REFUSED TO SIGN A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT BECAUSE A SIMILAR DOCUMENT WAS TO BE SIGNED BY THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, WHOSE LEGITIMACY THE RPF DOES NOT ACCEPT. THE RPF WANTS INSTEAD TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH THE RWANDAN MILITARY COMMAND.

THERE HAVE BEEN SUBSEQUENT REPORTS THAT THE RPF TACITLY AGREED TO A CEASE-FIRE, BUT SIMPLY REFUSED TO SIGN THE DOCUMENT PREPARED AT ARUSHA. RPF REPRESENTATIVES MAY ALSO

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

HAVE SIGNED A MOBUTU-SPONSORED CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT IN
ZAIRE, TWO WEEKS AFTER THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SIGNED A
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 122858 100046Z

SIMILAR DOCUMENT. HOWEVER, THE STATUS OF THESE AGREEMENTS
REMAINS UNCLEAR. WITH THE RECESSING OF THE ARUSHA TALKS,
THE EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE A CEASE-FIRE HAS MOVED TO KIGALI,
WHERE UN COMMANDER DALLAIRE IS TRYING TO BRING THE TWO
SIDES TOGETHER AT THE MILITARY COMMAND LEVEL.

THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

THE VIOLENCE HAS LEFT AT LEAST 100,00 DEAD (PROBABLY
MORE), DISPLACED HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS INTERNALLY, AND
FORCED OVER 300,000 RWANDANS TO FLEE TO NEIGHBORING
COUNTRIES.

THE INTERNAL PROBLEM. AS MANY AS ONE MILLION PERSONS
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY MAY HAVE BEEN DISPLACED BY THE
CONFLICT. FROM WHAT WE UNDERSTAND, THE MOST THREATENED
POPULATIONS ARE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY,
BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES, FROM KIGALI TO THE BURUNDI
ORDER. THERE ARE SMALL ENCLAVES OF THREATENED GROUPS
GATHERED (TRAPPED) IN PLACES OF REFUGE IN KIGALI AND OTHER
AREAS OF RWANDA, ABOVE ALL BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES IN THE
SOUTH AND WEST. THESE PEOPLE HAVE SOUGHT REFUGE IN
STADIUMS, HOTELS, CHURCHES, AND OTHER DISCRETE LOCATIONS
AND CANNOT LEAVE PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF ROAD BLOCKS AND
MARAUDING GANGS OF IRREGULAR (HUTU) MILITIA. HUMANITARIAN
ASSISTANCE CANNOT BE DELIVERED TO THESE GROUPS WITHOUT
FACING THE THREAT OF THUGS AND UNCONTROLLED MILITIA.
ICRC'S CURRENT TARGET GROUPS OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED OR
PERSONS IN NEED IS AS FOLLOWS:

KIGALI 25,000
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 122858 100046Z

NORTH/NORTHEAST	170,000 (EXPECTED TO TOP 200,000)
SOUTHEAST	200,000
WEST (GITARAMA)	100,000
SOUTH (BUTARE)	NO ESTIMATES AVAILABLE

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REFUGEES. CURRENT ESTIMATES AND LOCATIONS OF REFUGEES ARE:

TANZANIA (NGARA, KARAGWE) 250,000

BURUNDI (NORTH) 50,000

ZAIRE (GOMA, BUKAVU) 8,500

GANDA (SOUTHWEST) 5,500

THESE REFUGEES DO NOT FACE ANY IMMEDIATE THREAT TO THEIR SECURITY. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE REPORTS OF LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TRAPPED ON THE RWANDA SIDE OF THE BORDER IN LATE

APRIL, IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER SUCH MASS GROUPINGS STILL EXIST.

THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS. SPECIFIC NEEDS HAVE YET TO BE QUANTIFIED. FOOD, MEDICINES, BLANKETS, AND KITCHEN UTENSILS ARE ALREADY BEING DELIVERED. ICRC REPORTS IT HAS DELIVERED 45 TONS OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO HEALTH FACILITIES WITHIN RWANDA AS WELL AS SUPPLYING SURGICAL TEAMS AND

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 122858 100046Z
FIELD HOSPITAL FACILITIES. ICRC IS FEEDING 25,000 PEOPLE IN "SAFE HAVENS" IN KIGALI AND CONTINUES TO DISTRIBUTE FOOD TO 60,000 PERSONS IN THE NORTHERN RWANDA. IT HAS ALSO PROVIDED A FIRST FOOD DISTRIBUTION TO 220,000 REFUGEES IN NGARA, TANZANIA. THE UN DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS ISSUED A FLASH APPEAL FOR

DOLLARS 11.5 MILLION TO COVER ORGANIZATIONAL AND START-UP COSTS FOR THE UN AND NGO'S WHICH ANTICIPATE BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE RELIEF EFFORT. ICRC PLANS TO ISSUE AN EMERGENCY APPEAL FOR RWANDA FOR ROUGHLY DOLLARS 43 MILLION AND NEEDS IMMEDIATE CASH CONTRIBUTIONS. UNHCR HAS INDICATED A NEED FOR DOLLARS 38.8 MILLION AND HAS BEGUN AIRLIFTS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO TANZANIA. DISTRIBUTION POSES MAJOR PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF POOR ROADS AND A SHORTAGE OF VEHICLES.

INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION FORCE

GOVERNMENT/RPF VIEWS. RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES HAVE BEEN IN RETREAT, AND THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD SUPPORT ALMOST ANY FORM OF INTERVENTION. THE RPF OPPOSES ANY INTERPOSITIONAL FORCE OR PEACEMAKING OPERATION DESIGNED TO IMPOSE A CEASE-FIRE IN THE CONVENTIONAL WAR. THEY HAVE

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ALSO SUGGESTED THEY WOULD OPPOSE CREATION OF LARGE PROTECTED AREAS WHERE HUTU EXTREMIST MILITIA AND THUGS MIGHT FLEE TO AVOID RPF RETRIBUTION. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE SAID THEY WOULD SUPPORT AN INTERVENTION DESIGNED TO DELIVER HUMANITARIAN AID AND PROTECT CIVILIANS THREATENED BY THE THUGGERY.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 122858 100046Z

DALLAIRE PROPOSAL. UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE HAS INDICATED INFORMALLY THAT HE WOULD LIKE A FORCE OF 5,000 TO 8,000 TROOPS, WITH A MANDATE TO USE FORCE AS NECESSARY TO ASSURE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND TO PROTECT PERSONS IN THREATENED ENCLAVES. (UN HEADQUARTERS SUGGESTED IN ONE CONVERSATION THAT AN EQUAL NUMBER OF SUPPORT TROOPS WOULD ALSO BE REQUIRED, BUT THIS DOES NOT APPEAR TO PART OF DALLAIRE'S PROPOSAL.) THE FORCE WOULD BE EXPECTED TO BREAK THROUGH ROADBLOCKS MANNED BY HOODLUMS

AND DISARM ROVING GANGS, WHO ARE OFTEN UNTRAINED YOUTHS ARMED ONLY WITH MACHETES. THE FORCE WOULD NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN TRYING TO STOP OR SOMEHOW PROTECT THE GENERAL POPULATION FROM THE CONVENTIONAL WAR BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND RPF FORCES, WHICH IS CAUSING FAR FEWER CASUALTIES THAN THE MARAUDING GANGS AND MILITIAS.

INITIAL PLANS PROVIDE FOR THE FORCE TO BE STAGED OUT OF KIGALI. FIGHTING CONTINUES IN KIGALI AND THE AIRPORT REMAINS UNSECURE, MAKING MOVEMENT OF TROOPS AND SUPPLIES BY AIR DIFFICULT. DALLAIRE BELIEVES THIS MISSION CAN BE DONE UNDER CHAPTER VI AUTHORITY, ALTHOUGH SOME ANALYSTS SEE THIS AS A CHAPTER VII OPERATION. HE HAS REQUESTED 150 M-LL3 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS TO PROTECT HIS TROOPS. THE TOTAL COST FOR SUCH A FORCE IS ESTIMATED AT DOLLARS 150-200 MILLION PER YEAR.

N CONTINGENCY PLANNING. THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ASKED SYG BOUTROS-BOUTROS GHALI TO PROVIDE CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN AID FOR RWANDA. THE COUNCIL AGREED TO HOLD OFF ON DISCUSSIONS OF ANY DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 122858 100046Z

OF A POSSIBLE EXPANDED UN PRESENCE UNTIL THE SYG SENDS HIS RESPONSE, WHICH IS NOT EXPECTED BEFORE THE END OF THIS WEEK. BOUTROS GHALI HAS CALLED FOR AN AFRICAN FORCE. NIGERIA HAS OFFERED A BATTALION, TWO OTHER (UNIDENTIFIED)

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AFRICAN BATTALIONS ARE SAID TO BE AVAILABLE, AND DALLAIRE BELIEVES AUSTRALIA MAY BE WILLING TO PROVIDE AT LEAST 1,000 TROOPS TO UNAMIR.

POSITION OF THE OAU/REGIONAL POWERS. THE OAU WAS DISAPPOINTED WITH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL'S DECISION TO WITHDRAW THE BULK OF THE UNAMIR FORCES IN THE INITIAL STAGES OF THE CRISIS. OAU SYG SALIM SALIM SUPPORTS AN EXPANDED INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN RWANDA, BUT PREFERENCES THE OPERATION TO BE UN-LED, WITH THE OAU MERELY HELPING TO IDENTIFY AFRICAN TROOP CONTRIBUTORS. IN HIS TRIP TO THE REGION, HA A/S SHATTUCK FOUND GENERAL SUPPORT FOR AN ENHANCED UNAMIR PRESENCE TO MONITOR ANY CEASE-FIRE AND PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. THE NAM AND NEW ZEALAND HAVE BOTH CIRCULATED DRAFT RESOLUTIONS THAT CALL FOR A CHAPTER VII UN OPERATION. THE NAM DRAFT WOULD GIVE THE FORCE THE MANDATE TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER IN RWANDA AND ESTABLISH A SECURE ENVIRONMENT FOR RELIEF EFFORTS. THE NEW ZEALAND DRAFT WOULD HAVE THE FORCE PROTECT RELIEF OPERATIONS AND CREATE WEAPONS-FREE ZONES IN WHICH THE UN WOULD PROTECT CIVILIANS.

THE BURUNDI FACTOR. THE BURUNDI INTERIM PRESIDENT SUPPORTS GREATER UN ACTION IN RWANDA. HOWEVER, ANY OPERATION IN RWANDA WHICH WOULD REQUIRE DEPLOYMENT THROUGH
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 09 STATE 122858 100046Z
BUJUMBURA OR INTO NORTHERN BURUNDI COULD MEET WITH STRONG RESISTANCE FROM THE BURUNDI MILITARY, MIGHT DRAW BURUNDI INTO THE CONFLICT, AND COULD DESTABILIZE BURUNDI.

THE U.S. RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS

HUMANITARIAN. THE U.S. IS EXAMINING SEVERAL OPTIONS TO ADDRESS THE HUMANITARIAN DISASTER, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR A MILITARY OPERATION TO ESTABLISH SECURE ZONES NEAR THE BORDERS IN RWANDA FOR THE PROTECTION OF PERSONS AT RISK AND FOR THE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. UNDER THIS OPTION, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WOULD BE STORED IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND TRANSPORTED INTO THE SECURE ZONES. THE FORCES WOULD BE DEPLOYED OUTSIDE THE IMMEDIATE WAR ZONE, MAKING OPERATIONS AND LOGISTICS LESS DIFFICULT. THE MISSION WOULD DEFEND THE ZONES' PERIMETERS AGAINST INCURSIONS AND, WITHIN THE ZONES, ENFORCE SECURITY, DISARM CIVILIANS AND ESCORT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE SHIPMENTS.

UNCLASSIFIED

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INITIAL INFORMATION WOULD SUGGEST CREATING ZONES NEAR THE SOUTHERN BORDER, SINCE THE MOST THREATENED POPULATIONS SEEM TO BE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY, BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES, FROM KIGALI TO THE BURUNDI BORDER. THE PROTECTED ZONES CREATED WOULD NOT ENCOMPASS ENCLAVES OF THREATENED PERSONS IN KIGALI OR OTHER AREAS IN THE INTERIOR. THE SIZE OF THE FORCE COULD RANGE FROM 5,000 (FOR ONE TO TWO ZONES) TO 15,000 (FOR TWO TO FOUR ZONES). THAT WOULD TRANSLATE INTO A MINIMUM ANNUAL EXPENSE OF DOLLARS 150-450 MILLION DEPENDING ON THE NUMBER AND SIZE OF THE ZONES.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 10 STATE 122858 100046Z
THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY CONTRIBUTED APPROXIMATELY DOLLARS 28 MILLION IN FOOD, RELIEF ITEMS, AND EARMARKED FUNDS TO ORGANIZATIONS ASSISTING BURUNDI REFUGEES AND PERSONS DISPLACED FOLLOWING LAST OCTOBER'S COUP ATTEMPT AND SUBSEQUENT WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE. IN RESPONSE TO THE RWANDA CRISIS, THE ADMINISTRATION APPROVED DOLLARS 15 MILLION IN ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR NEW RELIEF EFFORTS IN THE AREA AND HAS SET ASIDE AN ADDITIONAL DOLLARS 13 MILLION IN FOOD COMMODITIES FOR THAT PURPOSE. DOD HAS APPROVED AN AIRLIFT OF UNHCR RELIEF SUPPLIES TO TANZANIA, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN MAY 11.

DIPLOMATIC. THE U.S. HAS USED DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE IN AN EFFORT TO STOP THE KILLINGS, PUT A CEASE-FIRE IN PLACE, AND BRING THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. WE HAVE SPOKEN DIRECTLY TO RWANDAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, THE RWANDAN MILITARY, AND THE RPF, IN WASHINGTON, VIA DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS IN OTHER LOCATIONS, AND BY TELEPHONE TO RWANDA AND HAVE REINFORCED THESE PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH HIGH-LEVEL PUBLIC APPEALS AND STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

WE HAVE WORKED TO MOBILIZE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. HA ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA DAVID RAWSON, AND REFUGEE PROGRAMS DAS BRUNSON MCKINLEY TRAVELED TO THE REGION THE FIRST WEEK IN MAY AND FOUND BROAD SUPPORT FOR AGGRESSIVE MULTILATERAL ACTION TO HELP RWANDA. WE ENCOURAGED THE EFFORTS OF THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT, AS FACILITATOR OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS, TO RECONVENE PEACE TALKS AND SENT AN OBSERVER TO THE MAY 3

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11
TALKS.

STATE 122858 100046Z

THE U.S. ENCOURAGED THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, OTHER REGIONAL STATES, AND OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO JOIN US IN URGING THE RWANDANS TO AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE AND RESUME TALKS. WE PUSHED FOR APPROVAL OF A STRONG SECURITY COUNCIL STATEMENT, ISSUED APRIL 30, WHICH DEMANDS THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE RPF TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS AND CALLS ON ALL STATES TO CEASE SHIPMENTS OF ARMS TO RWANDA. IN THIS REGARD, WE ARE PURSUING A FORMAL ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE ALSO ENCOURAGED INCREASED INVOLVEMENT BY THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER, WHO NOW PLANS TO TRAVEL TO RWANDA. THE CANADIANS HAVE SINCE CALLED FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO ADDRESS THE RWANDA CRISIS.

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